

124 preters, however, were available—especially one Ihipa, a man of fine intelligence and character, who had spent his childhood in the service of white men, at a time when the Northern Division was a scene of great mining activity; and another Bapia, who had been one of the best students of the Anglican Mission. Furthermore there was no lack of returned labourers, ex-police, and so forth, who spoke that simplified version of the Motuan tongue which is something of a Papuan *lingua franca*.

● 123 On the plains of the Northern Division working conditions are comparatively favourable, especially by reason of the general accessibility of the country, and the distribution of its inhabitants. It was my practice to make camp for longer or shorter periods in the Government 'rest-houses' which are erected for the convenience of officers on patrol. These houses are usually placed in the more important villages, and actually within the limits of the settlement; so that one was enabled week in and week out to follow the course of village life as it went on around one's habitation.

But every ethnographer expects to be able to do this. The special advantages which one enjoyed in the Northern Division arose from the fact that the plains were well populated, and this by tribes who were more or less homogeneous in language and culture. Being quartered for some months in the Aiga village of Korisata, for instance, I found fifteen villages within easy reach—so easy that, visiting the most distant of them I could spend several hours at work there and return to my camp in the afternoon. A good walk to one's destination; a few hours' work; an *al fresco* lunch spread out on a banana-leaf table-cloth, and beguiled by some reading (always, I confess far removed from anthropology and Papua); then a second session; and finally a good walk home—such was the routine of those little excursions which have always been the pleasantest part of field-work as I have attempted to carry it out.

Where this frequent visiting of not-too-distant villages is possible it carries with it several distinct advantages. In the first place one is likely to get wind of the social happenings of the district, near or far. Sometimes through secretive-

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ness, but more often perhaps through an exasperating forgetfulness, those who know of such happenings fail to pass on the news. But in the course of a fairly constant round of visits one is likely to pick up the scent somewhere, and then of course there is only one thing to do, to pack up and follow it.

Secondly, one is able to hear various views on every new subject that crops up—and various enough they prove to be; for how often does the unfortunate ethnographer, with his ears aprick for verification, sadly jot down the words of contradiction! Obviously investigation is made none the easier—far from it; but in such circumstances one is bound to resist the temptation of a facile reliance on a few eloquent informants.

Lastly there is this third advantage—by no means to be despised—that one's welcome does not grow stale. While a talkative man in our midst may become a bore, the talkative visitor will at least be tolerated; and among those closely-set villages of the Orokaiva which I visited from time to time, but always with intervals, I found not only toleration of the inquisitive stranger, but an almost flattered anxiety to be communicative.

Altogether the Orokaiva country was a good one to work in, especially for these reasons that I have named. Many other districts of Papua are by no means so kind to the field worker.

A 'Government' anthropologist may possibly labour under certain difficulties, but I doubt whether these weigh against the compensatory advantages. I have always had the advantage of an Armed Constable as escort. I use the word 'advantage' deliberately; though about the word 'escort' I feel less confidence. In practice the Armed Constable usually proves to be a fellow of very good company, and makes himself useful in a variety of ways, even rising to the occasion as a cook. But in so far as 'escort' implies protection, it is superfluous in places like the Northern Division. The policeman's principal duty is to wear his uniform, and thus to stamp one's retinue, consisting of a cook and one or two local interpreters, as one of Government importance.

123 Needless to say this makes a world of difference in the matter of transport, for without the blue serge and red braid of the policeman's uniform one might sometimes be left, as they say, 'in the air'. But it also does much to ensure a welcome; for the Orokaiva have long been thoroughly under Government control, and a series of intelligent and sympathetic magistrates have succeeded in developing a general feeling of confidence and friendliness.

It is certainly true that there are some things which the native is anxious to conceal from the Government. But he quickly comes to realize that one is a Government officer with a difference; that one is not equipped with any authority; and that one has no intention of playing the spy. On the whole I do not think, when an investigator has been at work in a district for any length of time, that information is intentionally withheld because of his connexion with the Government. Indeed six years' experience has taught me to think that the ethnographer's most serious obstacle is far from being deliberate concealment on the part of his informants. Nor is it principally the native's difficulty in explaining his meaning. The great trouble is, I believe, that it *does not occur to him* to tell.

A word on the ethics of ethnography. The situation sometimes arises in which the investigator is favoured with doubtful confidences. Now no enlightened person thinks that anthropology, whether under Government or any other auspices, is to be identified with espionage; and provided the investigator makes his reports in an impersonal manner, there is no danger of inculcating his informants. What subsequent action may be taken, either by Government or Mission, in the light of his revelations (if he has made any) cannot be a concern of his, *qua* ethnographer. It is his business to record in general terms the facts as he finds them, trusting that those who govern or educate the native will make the best use of the information. In so far as that information leads to a fuller understanding of native life he has done the natives a good turn. If it leads to a harsh, unsympathetic suppression of customs newly discovered in his reports, then it will be a bad state of affairs for which he

1:Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1930

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will be sorry, but not to blame. Happily, however, an anthropologist in Papua need have no fear that those in authority will so misuse the information he gives them. 123 ●

As a general description the present book should logically have preceded the treatment of certain specific subjects which appeared as 'Orokaiva Magic'; but I have endeavoured not to trespass unduly on the ground of the former work. There remain a collection of fables and legends, some linguistic material, and a quantity of miscellaneous information which I hope may be published in a further report. 000

It is by courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute that the substance of an article, 'Plant Emblems among the Orokaiva', which appeared in *J.R.A.I.*, vol. lv, 1925, is included in chapters VII, VIII, and XIII.

The earlier records of the Orokaiva are embodied mainly in the Annual Reports of Papua, which contain a wealth of information about the exciting early days, and the first-hand observations of men like Sir Wm. MacGregor and Mr. W. E. Armit. Latterly there are three names that stand out: those of the late Wilfred Beaver, of E. W. P. Chinnery, and of L. A. Flint.

F. E. W.

PORT MORESBY

Sept. 1929.

SOCIAL CONTROL AMONGST THE OROKAIVA

By MARIE REAY

Introduction

10) "Orokaiva" is a general term denoting people speaking Binandele and related
 114 dialects who occupy a large part of the Northern Division of Papua. Orokaiva
 123 society was investigated in some detail in the 1920's by the late Dr. F. E. Williams,
 131 Government Anthropologist. This article is based upon data furnished in Dr.
 Williams' published work,¹ supplemented by observations recorded by the author
 during a brief field period early in 1951 which was interrupted by the eruption of
 Mt. Lamington. My own observations refer to the Wasida or Jegase Sarahu tribe,²
 whereas some of Dr. Williams' information was gathered from the Aiga, Binandele
 and Tain Daware tribes, which are situated in other parts of the Division but never-
 theless reveal a social organization practically identical with that of the Wasida
 people.

121 In investigating social control amongst the Orokaiva, three aspects will be
 examined which would seem to be important in any empirical study of social control.
 Firstly, there are the ideals people expect one another to try to live up to: the
 Orokaiva use the convenient term *otohu* to refer to these. Secondly, it is necessary
 to study education in conformity, which involves a consideration of Orokaiva
 childhood and an examination of the ritual of initiation from this point of view.
 Thirdly, there are the actual sanctions operating to encourage conformity with
 Orokaiva ideals. There will be an attempt, finally, to assess the effectiveness of this
 system.

(I) OROKAIVA IDEALS

183 The Orokaiva term *otohu* is perhaps midway between behaviour which is normally
 577 expected and that which is ideally desirable. This term is used in two senses:
 562 adjectivally, it indicates that the person so described is well-behaved in certain
 196 definite ways and, secondly, it signifies an honorific ornament worn by a large number
 301 of people. A man is *otohu* if he is generous and helpful, and is diligent in gardening
 and hunting³; also, the *otohu* man does not quarrel or brawl, he does not steal, nor
 does he commit adultery. A woman is *otohu* if she listens to her husband and does
 not speak to him angrily, if she is faithful to him and accompanies him wherever

¹ F. E. Williams, "Plant-Emblems Among the Orokaiva," *Journal of the Royal Anthropo-
 logical Institute*, Vol. LV, 1925; *Orokaiva Magic* (1928); *Orokaiva Society* (1930).

² Called the Jegase-Sarahu tribe by E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver (*Papuan Annual
 Report for 1914-15*, pp. 138 ff.).

³ I.e., if he is able to vary the diet of his household occasionally with food from the bush, and
 if he works his garden regularly.